

Message Text

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ERDA-05 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 CIEP-01 COME-00 DODE-00

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TRSE-00 FRB-03 PA-01 PRS-01 AGR-05 OPIC-03 /142 W

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R 121143Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3728

INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

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AMEMBASSY MANILA

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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ABIDJAN 4941

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, EGEN, UN, UNGA, IV

SUBJECT: UNGA SPECIAL SESSION: ASSESSMENT OF IVORY COAST ATTITUDES

REFERENCES A) STATE 075525

B) STATE 126216

C) STATE 124719

D) STATE 112992

E) A-3627 OF MAY 23, 1973

F) DAKAR 2707 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: TO MAINTAIN ITS THIRD WORLD CREDENTIALS, IVORY COAST HAS INCREASINGLY ADHERED TO THE LDC/NONALIGNED BLOC VOTING STANCE AND WE EXPECT IT WILL DO SO AGAIN AT THE U.N. 7TH SPECIAL SESSION. IVORY COAST IS AMONG THE MOST SEVERELY AFFECTED LDC'S AND WILL HOPE TO SEE A MAJOR BREAK-THROUGH AT THE SPECIAL SESSION TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF CONCRETE PROGRESS ON COMMODITY ISSUES; STABLE REMUNERATIVE PRICES FOR ITS PRIMARY PRODUCTS IS IVORY COAST'S MAJOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY OBJECTIVE. THE EMBASSY APPLAUDS THE INITIATIVES CONTAINED IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S IEA AND OECD SPEECHES; THEY CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION IN SEEKING SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITIONS AT THE 7TH SS. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVES BE FOLLOWED UP BY A SERIES OF CONCRETE MEASURES TAKEN PRIOR TO THE 7TH SS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE U.S. IS RESPONDING TO LDCM REQUESTS AND IS NOT JUST MAKING "COSMETIC ADJUSTMENTS" TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY. AS FAR AS IVORY COAST IS CONCERNED, A POSITIVE U.S. GESTURE WOULD BE AN INDICATION OF U.S. WILLINGNESS TO JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COCOA AGREEMENT.

2. POLITICAL/ECONOMIC BACKGROUND: IVORY COAST IS MODERATE, PRO-WEST AND, IN THE PAST, FREQUENTLY SUPPORTED U.S.-SPONSORED POSITIONS IN THE U.N. AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES. HOWEVER, IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, IVORY COAST HAS INCREASINGLY SHIFTED TO GROUP OF 77 BLOC VOTING AS A DAMAGE-LIMITING POSTURE. IVORY COAST CHOSE THIS APPROACH TO DEMONSTRATE ITS SOLIDARITY WITH THE 77 IN ORDER TO RETAIN ANY SEMBLANCE OF THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP, TO AVOID BEING OSTRACIZED BY RADICAL LDC'S, PARTICULARLY ALGERIA, AND TO

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PRESSURE THE DC'S TO LISTEN AND REACT TO LDC'S DEMANDS. IVORY COAST IS AMONG THE MOST SEVERELY AFFECTED LDC'S (ACCORDING TO U.N. LIST) AND ALTHOUGH ITS 1974 ECONOMIC CUTTURN WAS RELATIVELY GOOD BECAUSE OF HIGH WORLD COCOA AND COFFEE PRICES, THE RECENT BREAK IN THE PRICES OF THESE COMMODITIES BODES ILL FOR ITS 1975 ECONOMIC SITUATION. THEREFORE, IVORY COAST WILL VIEW THE 7TH UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION AS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, HOPING TO SEE A

MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF CONCRETE PROGRESS ON COMMODITY ISSUES. ALTHOUGH IVORY COAST MAY EXERT A MODERATING INFLUENCE WITHIN THE GROUP OF 77, WE EXPECT IVORY COAST WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT 77 POSITIONS SINCE THE TENDENCY TOWARD BLOC BOTING IS UNLIKELY TO BE RESISTED UNILATERALLY BY IVORY COAST EXCEPT ON ISSUES WHERE IT FEELS ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE OVERRIDING.

3. RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS RAISED IN PARA 7, REFTEL A:
A. REGARDING SUBSTANTIVE INTERESTS WHICH MIGHT LEAD GOIC TO BREAK RANKS WITH THE LDC/NONALIGNED LEADERSHIP. WE DISCERN THREE POTENTIAL AREAS TO BE EXPLOITED:
1) IVORY COAST HAS DEMONSTRATED IN THE OAU--VIA ITS DIALOGUE APPROACH WITH SOUTH AFRICA--THAT IT IS NOT OPPOSED TO GOING IT ALONE AND IS ABLE AND WILLING TO RESIST PRESSURES TO CHANGE ITS POLICY. IVORY COAST STRESSES THAT IT IS A SOVEREIGN NATION WITH A RIGHT TO FOLLOW AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY; THIS IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION WITH BLIND ADHERENCE TO LDC NONALIGNED CONSENSUS POSITIONS.
2) IVORY COAST IS AMONG THE MOST SEVERELY AFFECTED LDC'S AND IS TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON IMPORTED PETROLEUM, FERTILIZERS, ETC., FOR ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPEMNT. THUS, IT IS A POTENTIAL, ALBEIT SILENT, PARTNER IN EFFORTS TO SEE MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS REGARDING ENERGY.
3) IVORY COAST IS A PRODUCER OF NONSTRATEGIC COMMODITIES, E.G. COFFEE, COCOA, PLAM OIL, AND IN SOME CASES NONSTORABLE

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COMMODITIES, E.G., COCOA, BANANAS AND PINEAPPLES. THUS,
THE GOIC RECOGNIZES THAT PRODUCER/CONSUMER SOLIDARITY IS
ESSENTIAL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF VIABLE COMMODITY AGREEMENTS.

B. REGARDING EMERGING STRAINS BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND
OIL PRODUCERS, GOIC OFFICIALS PRIVATELY ADMIT THEY ARE
DISAPPOINTED IN THE AID RESPONSE OF THE OIL PRODUCERS.
HOWEVER, PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY'S STANDING IN THE
ARAB WORLD WAS SEVERELY STRAINED OVER THE ISRAELI ISSUE-
IVORY COAST WAS THE LAST MAJOR AFRICAN NATION TO SEVER
RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, AND DID SO RELUCTANTLY. THEREFORE,
IVORY COAST IS UNLIKELY TO VOCALIZE ITS DISCONTENT WITH THE
OIL PRODUCERS; BUT THAT DISCONTENT EXISTS TO BE EXPLOITED
SUBTLY AND ADROITLY.

C. REGARDING GROWING RESENTMENT AGAINST HIGH-HANDED
STEAMROLLER TACTICS, IVORY COAST'S RELUCTANT SUPPORT
OF THIS APPROACH IS BASED ON FRUSTRATION OVER LACK OF
DC RESPONSE TO WHAT IT CONSIDERS TO BE LEGITIMATE DEMANDS
OF THE LDC'S. (IVORY COAST MAY NOT AGREE WITH ALL THE

DEMANDS, BUT IT CERAINLY IS ON THE STREAMROLLER REGARDING COMMODITY AGREEMENTS.) HOWEVER, RECENTLY THERE HAVE BEEN GROWING SIGNS OF IMPATIENCE WITH THE AGGRESSIVENESS AND RADICAL NATURE OF ALGERIA AND IN PARTICULAR FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA. THE U.S. INITIATIVES OUTLINED IN THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS TO THE IEA AND OECD DEMONSTRATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE MEANINGFUL NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD. IT MAY, IF FOLLOWED BY POSITIVE ACTS IN RESPONSE TO LDC REQUESTS, PERMIT US TO RALLY MODERATES (SUCH AS THE IVORY COAST) TO SUPPORT OUR POSITION OF CONSULTATION VERSUS CONFRONTATION AND ELICIT MORE VOCAL SUPPORT FROM THEM IN THEIR CAUCUSES WITH NONALIGNED RADICALS.

D. REGARDING METHOD, TIMING, VENUE AND LEVEL FOR CONSULTATIONS, WE BELIEVE THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. THE MAJOR SPEECHES BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND THE FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS BY AMBASSADORS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE OPENED THE WAY FOR A CONCERTED OFFENSIVE TO PROMOTE U.S. INTERESTS IN THE 7TH

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SS. HOWEVER, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THE U.S. WILL NEED TO DEMONSTRATE VIA CONCRETE ACTION PRIOR TO THE 7TH SS THAT OUR INITIATIVE IS MORE THAN JUST RHETORIC.

E. ANOTHER POTENTIALLY EXPLOITABLE ISSUE IS THE TRUE SPLIT BETWEEN BLACK AFRICA AND ARAB AFRICA, OR, LOOKED AT ANOTHER WAY, BETWEEN AFRICAN OIL PRODUCERS AND NON-OIL PRODUCERS, WHICH WAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED IN RECENT AFDB ELECTIONS(REFTEL F, PARA 7). POWER PLAY OF ARABS, SUPPORTED BY GABON AND ACQUIESCED IN BY NIGERIA, LED TO STANDOFF BETWEEN LIBYAN AND GHANAIAN CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENCY. RESULT WAS CONSIDERABLE BITTERNESS AMONG BLACK AFRICANS, IVORY COAST INCLUDED, BECAUSE FIRST AND SECOND PRESIDENTS OF AFDB HAD BEEN ARABS AND THEY CONSIDERED IT TIMELY TO HAVE A BLACK AFRICAN AS THIRD PRESIDENT. THIS EXAMPLE OF ARAB "GREED" IS APPARENT IN OTHER ACTIONS VIEWED CRITICALLY(AND SOMEHWAT JEALOUSLY) BY OTHER PRIMARY PRODUCT PRODUCERS, AND MIGHT BEEXPLOITED TO SHOW THAT PETROLEUM PRODUCING "CHAMPIONS" OF LDC CAUSES ARE ESSENTIALLY SELF-INTERESTED.

4. COMMENTS ON INTERESTS OF LDC'S (PARA 5, REFTEL A)

A. INCREASED EXPORT EARNINGS FROM PRIMARY COMMODITIES IS OF PRIMORDIAL INTEREST FOR IVORY COAST. EIGHTY PERCENT OF IVORY COAST'S EXPORT EARNINGS AND THIRTY PERCENT OF ITS GDP COME FROM THE SALE OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS. THUS, STABLE REMUNERATIVE PRICES FROM THE SALE OF THESE PRODUCTS

IS IVORY COAST'S MAJOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY OBJECTIVE.

B. NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR. GOIC LEADERS
SEE THIS AS AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF A SET OF INTERRELATED
FACTORS:

1) DC'S ARE CONSTRAINED BY ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
MEASURES TO LOCATE POLLUTING INDUSTRIES OFFSHORE, USUALLY
NEAR RAW MATERIAL SOURCES. 2) LDC'S WANT MORE VALUE
ADDED DOMESTICALLY AND PLACE SUCH REQUIREMENTS ON
EXPLOITING COMPANIES. 3) COMPANIES ARE WILLING TO
TRANSFORM IN LDC'S TO GET A LOCK ON RAW MATERIALS AND
TO OBTAIN CHEAP LABOR. 4) DC'S ARE INCREASINGLY LESS
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WILLING TO IMPORT FOREIGN LABOR DUE TO THE SOCIAL STRIFE
THEREBY CREATED. IPSO FACTO, LDC'S WILL INCREASINGLY
ENGAGE IN INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES HERETOFORE THE BAILIWICK
OF THE DC'S.

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C. INDEXATION. THE GOIC EMPLOYS THE RHETORIC OF THIS POLICY AS A WAY OF KEEPING THE ECONOMIC GAP BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FROM WIDENING FURTHER. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE GOIC IS REALISTIC AND WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON THIS ISSUE IF IT SEES POSITIVE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF VIABLE COMMODITY AGREEMENTS.

D. EXPANSION OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. GOIC IS WILLING TO (AND MORE IMPORTANTLY HAS THE CREDITWORTHINESS TO) BORROW AT COMMERCIAL RATES TO FINANCE ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. BUT, IT IS FINDING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN DEVELOPMENT FINANCING FROM INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAMS, E.G., EDUCATION. THEREFORE, ALTHOUGH THIS ITEM MAY BE LOWER ON ITS LIST OF PRIORITIES, IVORY COAST WILL CERTAINLY SUPPORT IT, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT CAN DO SO AS CHAMPION OF ITS NEIGHBORING LANDLOCKED STATES, E.G., MALI, UPPER VOLTA, NIGER.

E. CODES OF CONDUCT. GOIC HAS NO PARTICULAR AX TO GRIND ON THIS ISSUE, EXCEPT REGARDING SHIPPING. HOWEVER, ONCE AGAIN, GOIC IS LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF OTHER LDC'S.

F. ENHANCED LDC ROLE IN ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING IN KEY ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. ALTHOUGH IVORY COAST

WOULD CERAINLY WISH TO SEE THE LDC'S HAVE A GREATER VOICE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING, IT WOULD HESITATE TO ADOPT A POLICY WHICH WOULD DAMAGE THE ROLE OF THE IBRD AND IMF. IVORY COAST HAS RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FROM THESE INSTITUTIONS AND HAS TO DATE PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THESE BODIES.

G. STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN U.N. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS IS A HIGH GOIC PRIORITY SINCE THEY LIKELY SHARE OUR VIEW THAT SUCH CHANGES WOULD RESULT IN INCREASED RADICALIZATION OF U.N. BODIES, THUS FOSTERING INCREASED CONFRONTATION AND REDUCING CHANCES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE.

6. COMMENTS ON SECRETARY'S IEA AND OECD SPEECHES.
THE EMBASSY APPLAUDS THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE AND BELIEVES THAT IT CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHENS OUR POSITION IN SEEKING
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GOIC SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITIONS AT THE 7TH SS. WE READ WITH INTEREST THE S/P PAPER : "THE CHALLENGE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: NEW DEMANDS FOR POWER AND PARTICIPATION" (REF E). WE FULLY AGREE THAT PART OF OUR DIFFICULTY IN NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS DERIVED FROM THE ABSENCE OF ANY CLEARLY ARTICULATED U.. RESPONSE TO LDC'S CONCERNS OVER COMMODITY PRICES. IN ADDITION, WE NOTE THAT THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH INCLUDED A VARIETY OF APPROACHES SET FORTH IN THE APPENDIX OF THE AIRGRAM AS WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THE PRIMARY GOALS OF A COMMODITY POLICY. A QUESTION RAISED FOR THE EMBASSY AND FOR ALL LDC'S IS HOW THE USG PLANS TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE. IN THIS REGARD, WE NOTE THE FOUR STRATEGIC OPTIONS MENTIONED IN THE S/P PAPER, TO WIT: 1) COSMETIC ADJUSTMENTS TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY; 2) A HEDGEHOG APPROACH; 3) A LOW ECONOMIC PROFILE APPROACH; 4) A CARROT AND STICK APPROACH. WE FIRMLY ENDORSE THE "ACCOMMODATION STRATEGIES" (OPTIONS 3 AND 4) AND LEAN MOST HEAVILY TOWARD OPTION 4 SINCE IT MIGHT OFFER SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGE IN DIFFUSING NORTH-SOUTH CONFRONTATION. WE FERVENTLY HOPE THE SECRETARY'S SPEECHES ARE NOT PART OF "AN EFFORT TO DIMINISH OUR POLITICAL ISOLATION IN MULTI-LATERAL FORUMS THROUGH MERE COSMETIC ADJUSTMENTS, PARTICULARLY DISPLAYS OF RHETORICAL FLEXIBILITY...." WE AGREE THAT THIS WOULD BUY US LITTLE GOOD WILL OR TIME. THUS, THE EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE BE FOLLOWED UP BY A SERIES OF CONCRETE MEASURES TAKEN PRIOR TO THE 7TH SS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE U.S. IS INDEED ADOPTING AN ACCOMMODATION POSITION. THIS APPROACH WOULD TAKE THE WIND OUT OF THE SAILS OF THOSE LDC RADICALS WHO WOULD PLAY ON THE EMPTY RHETORIC THEME IN ORDER TO CONTINUE PROMOTING THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND TO MAINTAIN THE STREAMROLLER'S MOMENTUM. AS FAR AS

IVORY COAST IS CONCERNED, A POSITIVE U.S. GESTURE WOULD BE AN INDICATION OF U.S. WILLINGNESS TO JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COCOA AGREEMENT; OUR FAILURE TO DO SO STILL RANKLES THE THE GOIC AND WE BELIEVE CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALY TO ITS BELIEF THAT ONLY VIA STEAMROLLER TACTICS AND BLOC VOTING WOULD THE U.S. FINALLY LISTEN TO WHAT THE GOIC BELIEVES TO BE LEGITIMATE DEMANDS. SMITH

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